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ABSTRACT

A comprehensive report on black employment in Chicago over the last decade is described. Employment, income, occupation, and industry are the four barometers analyzed. One finding of this analysis is that the proportion of unemployed blacks is twice that of whites. Both in Chicago and in the rest of the country, the dollar gap between median white family incomes and black family incomes has widened. There has been a substantial increase of blue collar and white collar jobs for blacks. However, substantial gains have not occurred in professional jobs for blacks. Employment gains as indicated by the increased numbers of workers in manufacturing and retail trade have been offset by no change or decreased black labor participation in construction, personal, and household services. Accordingly, the report has emphasized that the achievements which can be documented for blacks in industry lose their significance in the light of racial disparities. (JP)

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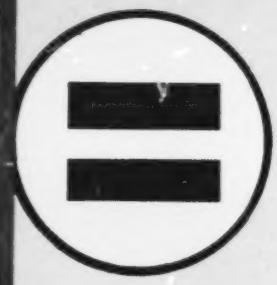

A CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE RESEARCH REPORT

UD016993

BAROMETERS of BLACK ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENT

THE REALITY AND THE MYTH

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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BY
BEVERLY HURST

SEPTEMBER
1974

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APR 26 1977

FOREWORD

by James W. Compton, Executive Director
Chicago Urban League

The Chicago Urban League has a continuing responsibility to report and interpret the economic condition of its city's black people. In the report which follows, the League is presenting a comprehensive body of data on black employment in Chicago, primarily in terms of comparison between the years 1960 and 1970.

This report presents a substantial volume of authoritative data bearing on the progress – or lack of progress – of black workers in that decade. We believe it affords the most comprehensive body of data yet available for study of the much mooted question of black progress in employment.

That there has been substantial progress in black employment opportunity and achievement cannot be denied. And there are many indications that the upward movement in Chicago has been more substantial than in other large metropolitan centers. Nevertheless, the extent and nature of these gains are not easily discerned and are often misjudged or misinterpreted. The fact is that Chicago's progress in black employment cannot be correctly evaluated through broad generalizations. It has its high spots in some areas and low spots in others. Progress tends to be over-estimated more often than it is underestimated. Here at the Chicago Urban League, we see all too often how the whole matter can be clouded by the myth of progress where there is, in fact, nothing to cheer. Perhaps the only sweeping generalization which may be rated as accurate is that progress, here, is still far short of developing the full potential of the black worker's value to himself, his family, his community, and the city's economy as a whole.

Comprehensive data on actual movement in these matters from 1960 to 1970 is needed to isolate the realities and dispel the myths. The Chicago Urban League, in the pages which follow, offers specific information to many phases of the black manpower situation.

One other point:

In submitting this report, the League has good reason to believe that it will not fall on deaf ears. Much of Chicago's business leadership has demonstrated a dynamism and a sense of responsibility which has been productive in the past and should be counted on to do its share at a time when many negative economic forces are at work. And now that government has largely retreated from the field, it is the business leadership which must do the job if it is to be done before there is still more deterioration.

The pages which follow can be very helpful to all those who want the facts and are ready to act in accord with those facts.

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INTRODUCTION

As an agency whose primary efforts for almost sixty years have been toward increasing economic opportunities for blacks, it is incumbent upon the Chicago Urban League to periodically assess the economic conditions under which blacks live. This assessment comes at a particularly important juncture. Not only does it indicate how far blacks have come in the last decade but also how far there is yet to go before discrimination and racism no longer figure prominently in determining their economic status. Moreover, it points up the absolute necessity for the continuation of vigorous affirmative action programs designed to narrow the disparities which exist between blacks and whites.

In addition to the uncertain consequences of the energy crisis, the economic picture for 1974 will probably contain elements of inflation and recession in various combinations. However, what every forecast recognizes is that increased unemployment is inevitable. For 1974, most conservative estimates predict an unemployment rate of 6% which would mean an additional one million unemployed added to the 4,435,000 who were unemployed at the end of 1973.

What does this portend for blacks and other minorities? The answer is simply unmitigated disaster. In the light of these developing statistics, Chicago's business and industry must adopt and implement policies which rigorously safeguard the tenuous hold of their black employees during the economic uncertainties ahead. Without such conscious and successful efforts, the number of unemployed blacks will increase drastically and could very easily approximate the level of unemployment blacks experienced during the great depression. As in most situations the private sector is fully capable of maintaining acceptable profit margins despite such temporary problems as the energy crisis. It is hoped that application of corporate ingenuity will not add to the heavily disproportionate unemployment burden which blacks already bear. The proportion of unemployed blacks is even now twice that of whites.

In December, 1973, there were 901,000 unemployed blacks in the country; an unemployment rate of 8.7 as opposed to 4.4 for whites. Assuming that the same proportions hold, 1,100,000 or 20% of the 5.5 million unemployed by the end of 1974 will be blacks. For an economic index whose fluctuations are noted in tenths of one percent, an unemployment rate jump for blacks to 11% could spell collapse of the economic viability of the black community.

Even if government implements strategies designed to decrease black unemployment, there is little evidence that such programs will be effective enough to ward off catastrophe. During the last decade of large spending on governmental manpower programs and equal employment opportunity efforts, the proportion of public sector jobs in Chicago increased by only 5%. In the absence of massive public service employment growth, it is the private sector rather than government which will determine the employment picture of Chicago and the country.

Real or imagined, neither the energy crisis, nor a recession, nor a depression, nor inflation is going to make blacks and other minorities forget about their rights. This country's economy must be straightened out within the context of hard won civil liberties. While efforts are being made to solve these adverse economic conditions, attention must not be diverted from the struggle for black economic parity.

Thus, the Chicago Urban League takes this opportunity to set the record straight about black economic achievement and to admonish government, business, and industry against actions which can dissipate the progress which has been made.

The four barometers analyzed here – employment, including labor force participation and unemployment rates; income, occupation, and industry – are fairly accurate indicators of the economic condition of the black community.

EMPLOYMENT

In measuring black economic achievement, the characteristics of the labor force are paramount. The several concepts developed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) in particular, serve to standardize the compilation and reporting of labor force data.

Essentially, the BLS concept of the labor force describes this country's potential pool of labor by age, sex, and race groupings. Defining the work force potential begins by dividing all persons 14 years of age and older into two basic categories: those in the labor force and those not in the labor force.

The total of all such persons who are in the labor force are isolated from those who are not, and the number who are actively serving in the armed forces are subtracted. The remainder constitutes the civilian labor force. The civilian labor force is further differentiated into those who are employed and those who are unemployed. Table 1 presents the labor force characteristics for blacks in Chicago for 1960 and 1970.

The first global index of employment comes in the form of labor force participation rates. Labor force participation rates reflect the extent to which persons become a part of the labor force upon attaining the age of fourteen years. As Table 1 shows, only 54% of the black population fourteen years old and over in Chicago was in the labor force in 1970, compared to 59% in 1960.

More meaning attaches to participation rates, however, when they are given by sex. There are obvious differences in the proportion of women in the labor force as opposed to men. Over the ten year period, the proportion of black men in the labor force decreased substantially from 77.8 in 1960 to 68.0 by 1970, while participation of black females in the labor force increased only minimally. The other side of the labor force coin comprises those not in the labor force. For black males, most of the decrease in their participation was offset by the increased proportion of black males who were enrolled in school.

Significantly, blacks in Chicago have a much lower participation rate (54%) than whites (60%) with most of the difference accounted for by the lower participation rate of black males (68%) compared to 75% for white males, (Table 2).

The participation rates of both black and white males declined to these levels from their 1960 levels of 78% for black males and 81% for white males. On the other hand, the participation rates for females show an insignificant increase for black females (42.3 to 43.2) but a significant increase of 3.4 in the participation rate of white females (from 42.2% in 1960 to 45.6% in 1970).

TABLE 1

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BLACK LABOR FORCE IN CHICAGO, 1960 & 1970

Characteristics	1960*			1970		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
# 14 years and over	254,153	288,307	542,460	327,596	396,755	724,351
# In Labor Force	197,731	122,028	319,759	222,938	171,689	394,627
Participation Rate	77.8	42.3	58.9	68.0	43.2	54.4
Civilian Labor Force	197,410	122,019	319,429	222,449	171,674	394,123
# Employed	176,021	106,486	282,507	207,705	158,692	366,397
# Unemployed	21,389	15,533	36,922	14,744	12,982	27,726
Unemployment Rate	10.8	12.7	11.6	6.6	7.6	7.0
# Not in Labor Force	56,422	166,279	222,701	104,658	225,066	329,724
# Inmates of institutions	1,888	689	2,577	3,690	1,488	5,178
# Enrolled in School	18,515	22,390	40,905	46,229	50,872	97,101
# Other: Under 65	23,714	124,623	148,337	35,092	143,565	178,657
# Other: 65 and over	12,305	18,577	30,882	19,647	29,141	48,788

* 1960 data for non-whites; 1970 data for blacks only.

Source: *General Social and Economic Characteristics*, Illinois, 1960 and 1970, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census.

TABLE 2

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES FOR CHICAGO BY RACE & SEX, 1960 & 1970

	Labor Force Participation Rate 1960	Labor Force Participation Rate 1970
Black Males	77.8	68.0
White Males	80.8	75.4
Black Females	42.3	43.2
White Females	42.2	45.6
Total Blacks	58.9	54.4
Total Whites	60.9	59.7

Source: *General Social and Economic Characteristics, Illinois, 1960 and 1970, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census.*

The second and more important index of employment vitality is the unemployment rate. It is computed by dividing the number of unemployed by the number in the civilian labor force. BLS publishes the official unemployment rate for the country every month. It accomplishes this task by interviewing a representative sample of approximately 57,000 households across the country of whom about 5,000 are black. By a complicated weighting system and additional information from employers and unemployment compensation claims, the BLS provides monthly estimated information on the employment picture by race for the country.

Unfortunately, the number who are unemployed does not mean the total number who are not working. To be counted as unemployed, a person must not be working and must have been actively looking for work *and* must have been available for work, during the week preceding the survey. To be considered employed, a person must have worked some part of the survey week or had a job from which he was temporarily absent. People who do not meet all of the criteria for being either employed or unemployed are classified as not being in the labor force.

Except for yearly averages little local unemployment data is available by race. Past experience reveals, however, that an accurate estimate of black unemployment can be obtained by simply multiplying the BLS unemployment rate by two. As Table 3 on page 4 shows, for eighteen out of the last twenty-six years, the annual unemployment rate for blacks in the United States has been at least twice the rate for whites. For the remaining eight years, the black unemployment rate was almost twice as high.

It should be remembered that the white unemployment rate is lower and the black rate higher than the total unemployment rate. For example, in 1958, the unemployment rate for blacks and other minorities was 12.6; the unemployment rate for whites was 6.1, but the total unemployment rate for the country was 6.8. It is the white unemployment rate which when multiplied by two produces the most accurate measure of black unemployment. Yet, this rule of thumb is not off by much when the total unemployment rate is multiplied by two.

Leaving the national picture, and turning to Chicago, the unemployment data by race show black people here were disproportionately represented among the unemployed (6.9 compared with 3.5 for white Chicago). While blacks made up only 27% of the civilian labor force, they contributed 43% to the ranks of the unemployed. It is clear, that there was in 1970 and continued to be in 1973, a very serious unemployment problem in the black community.

The magnitude of this crisis can be demonstrated on at least three levels. On the first level, as shown in Table 3, is the consistent disparity between black unemployment and white unemployment. The national average unemployment rate for whites during the twenty-six (26) year period has been 4.3 with a low of 2.7 and a high of 6.1. For blacks, the average has been exactly twice the white rate, 8.6, with a low of 4.5 and a high of 12.6. The point is that when white unemployment is "high", black unemployment is usually more than twice as high and when white unemployment is "low", black unemployment would remain twice that amount.

Secondly, there is ample evidence to indicate that the economic picture for the country is especially grim when the unemployment rate reaches 6%. In the last 26 years, the white unemployment rate has been six percent only two times: in 1948 when it was 6.1, and in 1961 when it was 6.0. In sharp contrast, the unemployment rate for blacks has hardly ever been under 6.0. In fact, black unemployment has exceeded six percent every year for the past twenty years consecutively, and was 8.9 and 9.0 in 1949 and 1950 for a total of 22 years out of 26. Moreover, in 17 of those years, black unemployment was an unconscionable 8.0 or more including 7 years when it was over 10.2. White unemployment has never been more than 6.1% in the last 26 years. Insofar as blacks are concerned, national alarm when the total unemployment rate or the white unemployment rate reaches six percent, blatantly ignores the plight of the black community.

TABLE 3

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY RACE, TOTAL & RATIO 1948-1973 FOR THE U.S.
(ANNUAL AVERAGES)

Year	Black & Other Minorities	White	Ratio of Black To White	Total Unemployment Rate
1948	5.9	3.5	1.7	3.8
1949	8.9	5.6	1.6	5.9
1950	9.0	4.9	1.8	5.3
1951	5.3	3.1	1.7	3.3
1952	5.4	2.8	1.9	3.0
1953	4.5	2.7	1.7	2.9
1954	9.9	5.0	2.0	5.5
1955	8.7	3.9	2.2	4.4
1956	8.3	3.6	2.3	4.1
1957	7.9	3.8	2.1	4.3
1958	12.6	6.1	2.1	6.8
1959	10.7	4.8	2.2	5.5
1960	10.2	4.9	2.1	5.5
1961	12.4	6.0	2.1	6.7
1962	10.9	4.9	2.2	5.5
1963	10.8	5.0	2.2	5.7
1964	9.6	4.6	2.1	5.2
1965	8.1	4.4	2.0	4.5
1966	7.3	3.3	2.2	3.8
1967	7.4	3.4	2.2	3.8
1968	6.7	3.2	2.1	3.6
1969	6.4	3.1	2.1	3.5
1970	8.2	4.5	1.8	4.9
1971	9.9	5.4	1.8	5.9
1972	10.2	5.2	2.0	5.6
1973	8.9	4.3	2.2	4.9

Sources: *Handbook of Labor Statistics*, USDL, BLS, 1971
Employment and Earnings, USDL, BLS #19 (9) March, 1973.

And thirdly, even implementation of federally sponsored manpower programs at present levels of funding triggered by a national six percent unemployment rate will have little effect on the magnitude of the black unemployment problem. Lending credibility to this statement are the results of the Emergency Employment Act. The Federal Government in July, 1971, set aside funds designed to specifically assist areas of high (6%) unemployment. Reference to Table 3 shows that the total unemployment rate that year was 5.9 or 6% rounded off. The funds were to be used to create jobs in such fields as education, health, law enforcement, and pollution control and were administered by city governments. One year later, 1972, the total unemployment rate for the country dropped three tenths of one percent; from 5.9 to 5.6 (see Table 3). But the unemployment rate for blacks had risen!! In 1971 unemployment for blacks averaged 9.9 nationally. By the end of 1972 the black unemployment rate averaged 10.2.

Unemployment in Chicago also increased considerably in spite of the Emergency Employment Act. The unemployment rate of blacks increased from 8.3 in 1971 to 9.8 in 1972. For whites the corresponding unemployment rates were 4.6 and 5.0.* In September, 1971, 26 community areas** in Chicago had been declared economic disaster areas and were awarded emergency employment funds.

* *Geographic Profile of Employment and Unemployment*, 1972, Report #421, USDL, Bureau of Labor Statistics

** *Area Manpower Review, Chicago SMSA*, Illinois State Employment Service, 1971

How much change, then, has occurred in this first indicator of black economic achievement in Chicago? Can the change, if any, be viewed as positive or negative? How does this picture stack up against that for whites?

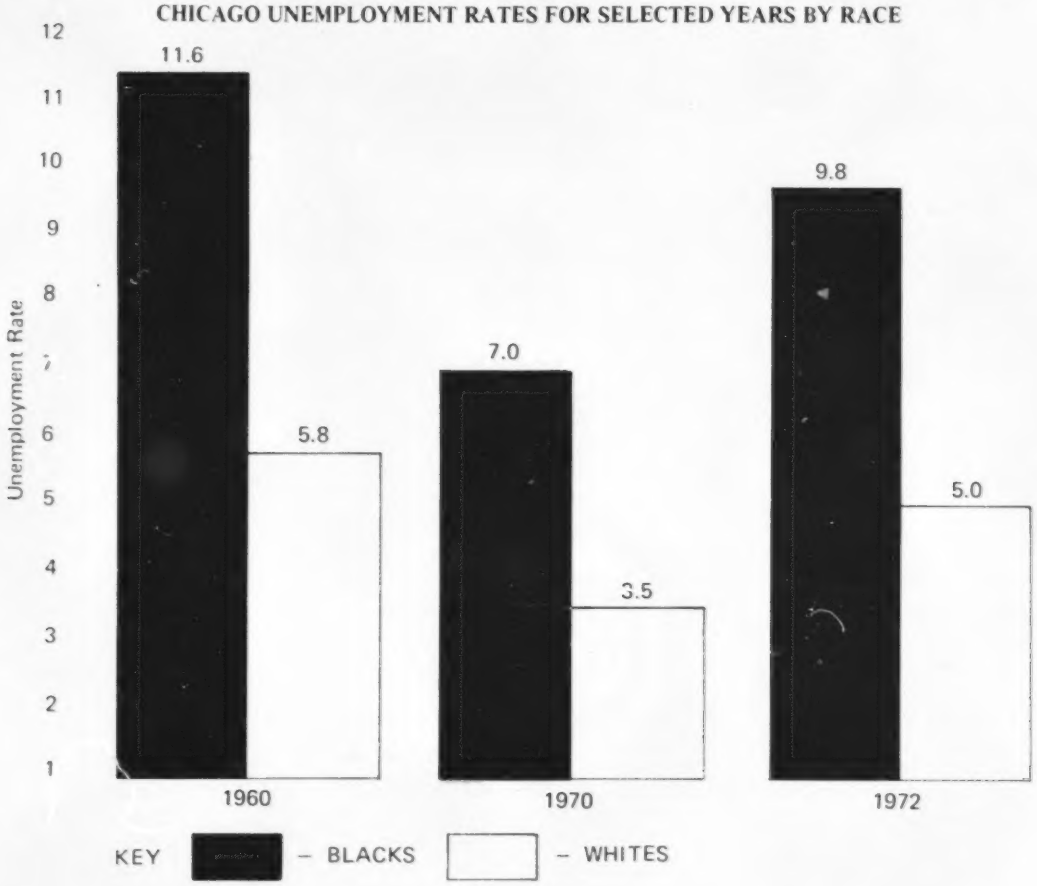
These questions can be answered using labor force participation and unemployment rates. During the last decade there was a significant decline in the labor force participation rate of black males in Chicago and a small increase in the proportion of black females in the labor force. The overall participation rate of blacks declined as well. For black males in Chicago, labor force participation dropped from 77.8 in 1960 to 68.0 in 1970. Most of this 9.8 point drop can be accounted for in the increased proportion of black males who are enrolled in school. But the important factor here is that blacks must be participants in the labor force in order to be employed. And there exists a relatively large number of black males under 65 years of age who are not in the labor force (35,092 in 1970, Table 1). For the most part they represent discouraged workers and the "hard core" unemployed. Strategies must be developed which significantly reduce their discouragement and get them jobs.

Also, indicative of the black situation are unemployment rates. This index registered a positive decline in both the rate as well as the absolute number in Chicago. In 1960, the unemployment rate was 11.6. By 1970 the unemployment rate for blacks in Chicago was 7.0 but had risen to 9.8 by the end of 1972.

A similar but much smaller decline in the overall labor force participation rate of whites also occurred from 1960 to 1970 (see appendix Table 1). And the white unemployment rate declined also, going from 5.8 in 1960 to 3.5 in 1970 but had reached 5.0 at the end of 1972.

Although black unemployment declined over the decade, the rate remains two times higher than that for whites and is already on a dangerous upward swing. The following graph demonstrates this trend.

FIGURE 1
CHICAGO UNEMPLOYMENT RATES FOR SELECTED YEARS BY RACE



INCOME

The second barometer of the economic condition of blacks is money. Without arguing the amount of family income which would constitute middle class, it is clear that median black family incomes have risen rather strikingly in the past decade. Blacks and other races in the country, had a median income of $4,001 in 1960. By 1970, the median family income for blacks and other races in the U.S. had risen to $6,191 (Table 4). This is not a spurious statistic; it is corroborated by definitive shifts in the distribution of family incomes. Nearly all of the low-income reduction occurred among families with incomes of less than $3,000; 18% fewer black families had incomes under $3,000. By 1970, 44% of black families had incomes of $7,000 or more compared to 23% in 1960.

Median black family income as well as the distribution for Chicago blacks increased even more. By 1970, 58% of black families in Chicago had incomes of $7,000 or more compared to only 26% in 1960. But more importantly, nearly all of this increase was represented among black families whose incomes were $10,000 or more. In addition, the Chicago median black family income in 1960 was $4,700 and by 1970 it had risen to $7,883 for an increase of $3,097.

TABLE 4

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF MEDIAN FAMILY INCOMES FOR BLACKS AND OTHER RACES FOR THE U.S. AND CHICAGO, 1960 & 1970

	UNITED STATES			CHICAGO		
Income	1960	1970	Amount Improvement	1960	1970	Amount Improvement
$2,999 and less	38%	20%	−18	27.8	14.3	−13.5
$3,000 - 4,999	22%	19%	− 3	25.1	12.4	−12.7
$5,000 - 6,999	17%	17%	− 0	21.7	15.2	− 6.5
$7,000 - 9,999	14%	20%	+ 6	16.7	23.7	+ 7.0
$10,000 & over	9%	24%	+15	8.8	34.3	+25.5
Median Income	$4,001	$6,191	+$2,190	$4,786	$7,883	+$3,097

Source: *Social and Economic Status of Negroes in the United States*, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1970.
General Social and Economic Characteristics, Illinois, 1970, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census.

TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE OF BLACK FAMILIES BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL, 1960, 1970, CHICAGO AND THE U.S.

Year	United States	Chicago	Poverty Level*
1960	55%	28%	$2,973
1970	34%	21%	$3,968

* Federal government threshold for a nonfarm family of four.

Sources: *Social & Economic Status of Negroes in the U.S.*, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, BLS, 1970.
General Social & Economic Characteristics, Illinois, 1970, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

Correspondingly, there were proportionately fewer black families in the country and in Chicago whose incomes were at or below the poverty level (Table 5).

The decrease was more dramatic for blacks in the country than for black families in Chicago (21 percentage point decrease compared to a 7 percentage point decrease in Chicago).

On the face of it, black family incomes have increased substantially such that in Chicago, fifty percent of the black families had incomes of $7,883 or more by 1970. But this "progress" is completely erased when compared to gains made by white families: 50% of white families had incomes of $11,159. Both in Chicago and the country, the dollar gap between median white family incomes and black family incomes has widened.

As shown in Table 6, the dollar gap between median black and white family incomes increased by $352 over the ten year period going from $3,251 in 1960 to $3,603 by 1970. And in Chicago, the dollar differential between blacks and whites increased by $282. These data document two basic facts:

1) Median black family incomes were $3,603 less than white family incomes in 1970 and were $3,251 less in 1960.

2) Median black family incomes had increased by $2,190 but white family incomes had increased by $2,542.

Black family incomes started out the decade $3,251 behind white families and ended up the decade even further behind. A healthy percentage growth will not buy the groceries that equality of income will.

As in the case of unemployment rates, blacks in Chicago fared better than blacks across the country. In ten years, blacks in Chicago at $7,883 had median incomes a little above what the median white income was in 1960 ($7,780). The fact remains, however, that the income gap is widening although at a slower rate in Chicago as well. This trend is graphically portrayed in figure 2 below.

TABLE 6

MEDIAN INCOMES OF BLACKS AND WHITES 1960 & 1970 FOR THE U.S. AND CHICAGO

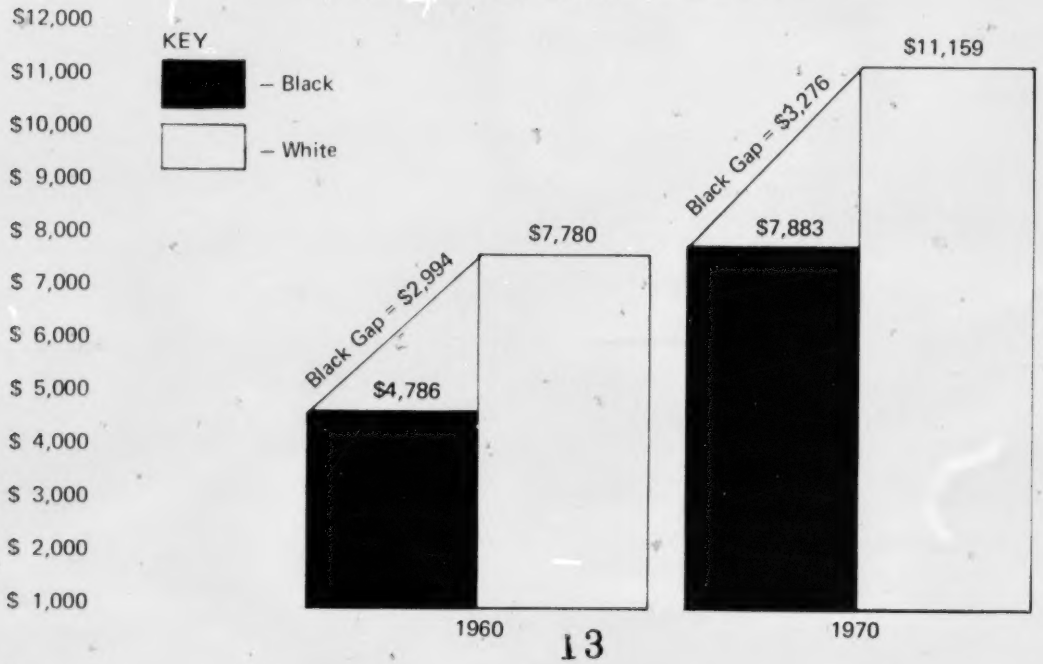
	1960*	1970	Difference
UNITED STATES			
Black	$4,001	$ 6,191	+$2,190
White	$7,252	$ 9,794	+$2,542
Black as % of White	55.2%	63.2%	
Black Dollar Gap	$3,251	$ 3,603	+$ 352
CHICAGO			
Black	$4,786	$ 7,883	+$3,097
White	$7,780	$11,159	+$3,379
Black as % of White	61.5%	70.6%	
Black Dollar Gap	$2,994	$ 3,276	+$ 282

* 1960 data for non-whites, but 1970 for blacks only.

Source: *Social and Economic Status of Negroes in the U.S.*, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, BLS, 1970 and *General Social and Economic Characteristics*, Illinois, 1970, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Census.

FIGURE 2

MEDIAN BLACK & WHITE FAMILY INCOMES AND GAPS FOR CHICAGO, 1960 & 1970



OCCUPATION

Since income is directly related to employment and occupation, and since 84% of black families had wage/salary income in 1970, occupation is the third barometer discussed here as an index of the economic condition of blacks.

Although black workers in Chicago are still over-represented in the lower-paying blue collar occupations and under-represented in the higher-paying white collar occupations, a promising factor is that the 1960-1970 decade showed some indication of movement in the desired direction. As Table 7 shows, the proportion of white workers in blue and white collar occupations differs by only a few percentage points. Over the ten year period whites in white collar occupations rose by 12.3 percent and in blue collar occupations by 4.1 percent. On the other hand, black workers in Chicago increased their representation in the white collar occupations by 65.9 percent; having moved from 22% to 36.5% in the last 10 years. Blacks with blue collar jobs increased by only 6.2%.

TABLE 7

PERCENT OF WORKERS IN BLUE & WHITE COLLAR OCCUPATIONS BY RACE, CHICAGO, 1960-1970

	BLACKS		WHITES	
Classification	**1960**	**1970**	**1960**	**1970**
White Collar Occupations	22.0	36.5	46.3	52.0
Blue Collar Occupations	59.8	63.5	46.1	48.0
Not Reported	18.2		7.6	

Source: *General Social and Economic Characteristics,* Illinois, 1960 and 1970, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Census.

To discover which blue collar occupations lost and which white collar occupations gained, a comparison was made of nine broad occupational classifications. Table 8 presents the data for black workers in Chicago for 1960 and 1970. In answer to the question posed above, the fastest growth occurred in the clerical occupations (68.2%); professionals grew by 68.0%. Managerial and sales jobs still elude black workers. These two occupations had the slowest white collar growth, 44.4% and 65.0% respectively. More than half of the total white collar gain for black workers was achieved by the increase in clerical workers. This fact helps to explain why earnings have not risen as much as the occupational index. Clerical workers are the lowest paid white collar workers. The proportion of blacks who worked in the high paying craftsman jobs increased by 46.3%. But here too, black craftsmen earn a lot less than white craftsmen. These relationships are discussed again in Table 11.

TABLE 8

1960 & 1970 PERCENTAGES OF BLACK WORKERS IN CHICAGO BY OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION

Classification	Percent 1960	Percent 1970	Percent Change
WHITE COLLAR			
Professional	5.0	8.4	+68.0
Managerial	1.8	2.6	+44.4
Clerical	13.2	22.2	+68.2
Sales	2.0	3.3	+65.0
Total White Collar	22.0	36.5	+46.3
BLUE COLLAR			
Craftsmen	6.7	9.8	+46.3
Operatives	24.9	27.2	+ 9.2
Service	15.2	16.8	+10.5
Household	4.0	2.2	−45.0
Laborers	9.0	7.5	−16.7
Total Blue Collar	59.8	63.5	+ 6.2

Source: *General Social and Economic Characteristics,* Illinois, 1960 and 1970, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Census.

The proportion of white workers in these various occupations compared with black workers for 1960 and 1970 are exhibited in appendix Table 2. But just for 1970, Table 9, page 9 indicates that among white collar workers, the largest disparity exists between the proportions of white and black professionals. Among blue collar workers, the largest difference is the 27.2% of blacks who were operatives and the 19.3% who were white operatives. In all but two occupations the gap is slowly closing. For the professional and operatives occupations, the gap is getting wider. The former occupation does not have enough blacks; the latter has too many.

TABLE 9

PERCENTAGE OF EMPLOYED WHITES AND BLACKS IN CHICAGO, 1970

Occupation	Percent White	Percent Black
Total White Collar	52.0%	36.5%
Professional	14.1	8.4
Managerial	6.1	2.6
Sales	6.8	3.3
Clerical	25.0	22.2
Total Blue Collar	48.0%	63.5%
Craftsmen	13.8	9.8
Operatives	19.3	27.2
Service	10.3	16.8
Laborers	4.3	7.5
Household	.3	2.2
TOTALS	100%	100%

Source: *General Social and Economic Characteristics,* Illinois; 1970, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census.

Referral to appendix Table 2, shows that whites in managerial occupations declined from 7.0% in 1960 to 6.1% in 1970. Similarly, whites in sales occupations decreased from 10.5 in 1960 to 6.8 in 1970. These reductions when viewed along with the increased black representation in both occupations could be interpreted as black increases at the expense of white reductions. More nearly, a combination of factors including the shifts of jobs, industries and white workers to the suburbs, probably account for the decreased proportions of white Chicago workers in managerial and sales occupations.

Translating proportions into numbers reveals that a job situation of parity among blacks and whites would require 20,623 more black professionals; 12,787 more black managers, officials and proprietors; 10,319 more black clerical workers; 12,631 more black salesmen and 14,602 more craftsmen (see appendix Table 3). If the new Chicago Plan's goal of 10,000 minority jobs in the construction trades had been realized, a very large part of the deficit of 14,602 could have been wiped out. These data serve to focus on the occupational classifications where intensive employment activities ought to take place (see appendix Table 4 for list of jobs encompassed by each of the broad occupational classifications).

Another way of looking at the occupational under-representation of blacks involves determining what proportion of all of the professional jobs available for example, are held by blacks. This is different from the kind of analysis conducted thus far since it dealt with the proportion of all blacks workers who held certain kinds of jobs. Now the analysis is directed at the situation from the point of view of the number and proportion of jobs available that blacks hold. It assumes that if there were no artificially imposed restraints to access, then blacks should hold approximately the number of jobs representing their proportion of the labor force. Remembering that the benchmark for blacks should be 26% since they account for 26% of the employed workers in Chicago, Table 10 demonstrates that blacks hold more than their share of operative, service, laborer and household worker jobs – the lower paying blue collar jobs. At the same time, blacks do not hold their share of any of the other job classifications.

TABLE 10

PERCENT OF JOBS HELD BY BLACKS IN CHICAGO BY OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION, 1960 & 1970

Category	% Of Jobs Held By Blacks 1960	% Of Jobs Held By Blacks 1970
Professional	10	18
Managerial	6	13
Clerical	12	24
Sales	6	15
Craftsmen	13	20
Operatives	31	33
Service	31	37
Laborers	36	38
Household	62	72

Source: *General Social and Economic Characteristics,* Illinois, 1960 and 1970, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census.

Blacks share nearly the parity of clerical jobs, but not even half of the managerial jobs. However, the 1970 figures represent a great deal of improvement – double the proportion in some cases – over the 1960 data in the white collar jobs.

In addition to the occupational distribution inequities, there persists an income gap between blacks and whites in the same occupational classification as Table 11 shows.

This gap is widest among professionals. The median earnings of black male professionals was $1,428 less than all male professionals and the

median which black craftsmen earned was $1,394 less than all craftsmen. These income gap levels remain in spite of the reduction from what they were in 1960. Then, the median for black professionals was $2,846 less than all male professionals and for black craftsmen the median earned in 1960 was $1,672 less. Here again the rigidity of the discrimination among the trades probably accounts for this small decrease in income gap over the ten year period. Although the income gap was highest for professionals, the ten year period did witness a reduction of half from $2,846 to $1,428; but the income gap in black craftsmen earnings was reduced by only $278 over the same ten year period. At the present rate of progress, another ten years should see black professional earnings equal whites, but it would take black craftsmen almost 50 years before their earnings equal those of the rest of the craftsmen.

TABLE 11

BLACK AND TOTAL MEDIAN ANNUAL EARNINGS OF MALES FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS AND BLACK EARNINGS GAPS IN CHICAGO, 1960 & 1970

Classifications	Median Black Male Earnings		Median Earnings Of All Males		1960 Black Earnings Gap	1970 Black Earnings Gap
	1960	1970	1960	1970		
Professional, Managerial, and kindred	$5,030	$8,687	$7,876	$10,115	$2,846	$1,428
Craftsmen, Foremen and kindred workers	$4,614	$7,515	$6,286	$ 8,909	$1,672	$1,394
* Clerical and kindred workers	$3,037	$4,911	$3,423	$ 5,057	$ 386	$ 146
Operatives including transport	$4,253	$6,841	$5,159	$ 7,267	$ 906	$ 426

* Females only

Source: *General Social and Economic Characteristics,* Illinois, 1960 and 1970, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Census.

INDUSTRY

Paralleling the findings about occupational under-utilization of blacks are the results stemming from data on industry – the fourth and final barometer. The distribution of black workers by industry closely approximates the distribution for white workers (see appendix Tables 5 and 6). For both groups, the largest proportion of workers were employed by the manufacturing industry (30% of all black workers and 33% of all white workers) in 1970. The retail trade industry was the next largest, employing 10% of black workers and 10% of white workers. The rest of the workers were distributed among the remaining industries in proportions ranging from .1% in mining to 9.1% in public administration for blacks, and from .1% in mining for whites to 7.2% in the combined industries of finance, insurance and real estate for whites.

It should be noted first, that among the twelve industry groupings shown in Table 12, five of them employed fewer Chicagoans in 1970. In actuality, the decline in the total number employed by the combined transportation, communication, utilities and sanitary industries is entirely the result of the decline in the transportation industry. The manufacturing industry declined the most. In 1960, 503,753 Chicago persons were employed in the manufacturing industry. By 1970, this industry employed 59,924 fewer Chicago workers or 443,829. Similarly, Chicagoans working in the construction industry went from 57,025 in 1960 to 51,348 in 1970. These data suggest the extent to which industry has shifted from the city to suburban areas out of reach of Chicago workers and/or the movement of whites out of the city. In only two of the five industry groupings in which there were fewer Chicago residents employed, did black employment decrease at all (personal and household services industry and the entertainment/recreation industry). The decline in employment in the other three industries paralleled decreased white Chicago workers.

The increased percentage of black workers employed in these industries should be viewed in the light of the larger number of employed blacks. In 1960, only 18.8% of Chicago's workers were black; by 1970, 26.3% of the employed persons were black – an increase of 7.5 percentage points for a 39.9% increase. The amount of im-

TABLE 12

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF BLACKS AND TOTAL EMPLOYED IN CHICAGO BY INDUSTRY, 1960 & 1970

Industry	Total Number 1960	Total Number 1970	Number Blacks 1960	Number Blacks 1970	Percent Blacks 1960	Percent Blacks 1970
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	78,724	88,147	5,372	14,038	6.8	15.9
Transportation, Communication, Utilities & Sanitation	129,989	112,964*	19,609	32,451	15.1	28.7
Wholesale and Retail Trade	268,739	277,296	39,715	62,674	14.8	22.6
Construction	57,025	51,348*	8,035	10,787	14.1	21.0
Mining	556	998	68	217	12.2	21.7
Manufacturing	503,753	443,829*	76,531	107,748	15.2	24.3
Business & Repair Services	44,399	56,691	6,062	12,832	13.2	22.6
Professional & Related Services	139,678	208,874	25,347	59,813	18.1	23.9
Agriculture, Forestry & Fisheries	2,468	3,659	424	1,505	17.2	41.1
Personal & Household Services	71,455	58,796*	30,703	26,803	42.9	45.6
Entertainment and Recreation	9,952	8,598*	1,658	1,724	16.7	20.1
Public Administration	67,706	76,708	21,824	33,196	32.2	43.3
Not Reported	127,287	–	47,159	–	–	–
TOTALS	1,501,731	1,387,908	282,507	363,788		

* Industries in which employment of Chicagoans decreased.

Source: *General Social and Economic Characteristics*, Illinois, 1960 and 1970, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census.

provement for black workers in industry can therefore be gaged by the extent to which the increase exceeds 40%. Thus, among the 12 industries, blacks made progress in 8 of them. The amount of progress ranged from a low of 6.2% in personal and household services to a high of 138.9% in the rather insignificant (3,659 total employment) agriculture, forestery and fisheries grouping. The combined finance, insurance and real estate industries registered the next largest increase of 133.9%. The proportionate increase in black employment in public administration and the professional and related services industry did not keep pace with the increased proportion of black workers. Blacks employed in public administration increased by 34.5% when a 39.9% increase would have been required just to stand still. Similarly, the increase of 32.0% black employment in the professional and related services industry did not reach the 39.9% benchmark. These data merely reflect the pace of change.

A better picture of the employment of blacks in industry can be discerned from the 1970 census data when the twelve industry groupings were increased to twenty as shown in Table 13. Blacks were under-represented in half of the industries (10) in the sense that blacks held less than 26% of the jobs in that industry when blacks represented 26% of the work force in 1970. The industry where blacks were most under-represented was the combined finance, insurance and real estate industries: the same industries where black representation had increased by 133.9%. Blacks held only 16% of the jobs in these industries in 1970. Trucking and warehousing was another industry where blacks held few jobs; the wholesale trade industry also employed a small proportion of blacks.

The combined jobs in the communications, utility and sanitary industries in which blacks held 29% of the jobs should be viewed with caution. The proportion of blacks holding jobs in the communications industry was only 4.2% for the entire metropolitan area in 1970 and the same was probably true for the utilities industry. Gas and electric utilities companies throughout the metropolitan area had only 8.3% black employees. In addition, the combined finance, insurance and real estate industries figure is also misleading. Individually, these industries reflect even more segregation. Only 7.1% of the persons employed in the insurance industry in the metropolitan area were black and only 8.4% of the employees in banking and credit agencies were black in 1970.*

TABLE 13

RANK AND PERCENT OF JOBS HELD BY CHICAGO BLACKS IN 1970 BY INDUSTRY

Industry	% Jobs Held By Blacks 1970	1970 Rank
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	15.9	20
Trucking & Warehousing	16.8	19
Wholesale Trade	17.9	18
Food, Bakery & Dairy Stores	19.6	17
Entertainment & Recreation	20.1	16
Eating & Drinking Places	20.4	15
Construction	21.0	14
Mining	21.7	13
Business & Repair Services	22.6	12
Manufacturing	24.3	11
Retail Trade	26.0	10
Hospitals & Health Services	27.3	9
Educational & Kindred Services	27.6	8
Communications, Utilities & Sanitary Services	29.2	7
Professional & Related Services	20.1	6
Transportation	34.9	5
Agriculture, Forestry, Fisheries	41.1	4
Personal Services	41.9	3
Public Administration	43.3	2
Private Household	65.9	1
Blacks as % of Total Employed	26.3	

Source: *General Social and Economic Characteristics*, Illinois, 1970, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Census.

It should be remembered that the finance, insurance and real estate industries employ the third largest number of persons in Chicago and since blacks are most under-represented there, these industries should develop specific efforts to increase the number of black job holders. Because there is a definite relationship between industry and occupation, improvement in these industries could result in a substantial increase in the number of blacks holding jobs as salesmen and managers.

These data for entire industries are particularly significant since they identify those industries where blacks are under-represented. With the energy crisis threatening to result in massive layoffs in certain industries, it can be predicted that unless business and industry act now, the last hired blacks will be the first fired once again.

* *Detailed Characteristics*, Illinois, 1970, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Census.

The extent to which blacks are integrated into an industry really requires more data than were available. Needed would be a cross-classification of industries according to the occupations of blacks in Chicago. For example, this data would show whether or not the 26% black workers in the retail trade industry were concentrated in the lower paying occupations. Enough data is already available, however, to suggest that this is true. The earnings information in Table 14 forcefully supports this notion. Clearly, this data does not permit hedging based upon sex; they are for males only. Nor can these glaring disparities be lessened by claims of seasonality; they include only those who worked 50 to 52 weeks that year. As to their validity for Chicago blacks, 89% of the blacks in the SMSA live in the City of Chicago.

Thus, as with the other three barometers, the achievements which can be documented for blacks in industry lose their significance in the light of such gross racial disparities. Not even the industry of last resort, public administration, (which includes the postal service and most government jobs) can claim to be exempt. The $1,382 economic racism of that industry is just as damaging as the $3,928 racism exhibited by the recalcitrant construction industry.

And going back to 1960 only makes it worse (see appendix Table 7). Blacks in industry cannot get ahead for getting behind. The two-tenths of one percentage point (0.2) increase of blacks in the construction industry was achieved at the cost of a $1,228 earnings differential. The median earnings gap of black males in the construction industry in 1960 was $2,185 but by 1970, the gap increased to $3,413 – a cost of $1,228.

TABLE 14

MEDIAN EARNINGS OF BLACK MALES AND ALL MALES WHO WORKED 50-52 WEEKS IN 1969 FOR SELECTED INDUSTRIES, CHICAGO SMSA, 1970

Industry	Median Earnings All Males	Black Males Median Earnings	Percent Full-Time Black Male Earners	Black Male Median Earnings Gap
Public Administration	$ 9,968	$8,586	23%	$1,382
Manufacturing	$ 9,730	$7,374	14%	$2,356
Construction	$11,992	$8,064	10%	$3,928
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	$10,938	$7,828	8%	$3,110

Source: *Detailed Characteristics*, Illinois, 1970, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Census.

SUMMARY

No attempt has been made in any part of this report to engage in the kind of liberal rhetoric which ignores the achievements of blacks in Chicago. On the contrary, the discussion of each barometer begins with the measurement of the improvements which have occurred in the last ten years. But since the economic condition of blacks cannot be viewed in isolation, the analysis of each barometer ends with comparisons between whites and blacks. These racial comparisons not only show that large disparities exist between black and white Chicagoans, but also that in several instances the discrepancies are getting wider. Because of this, the Chicago Urban League insists that business and industry must substantially improve their equal employment opportunity efforts. So little improvement has accrued to blacks relative to whites in the past ten years that Chicago must ensure that further deterioration does not occur under any circumstances.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WHITE LABOR FORCE IN CHICAGO, 1960 & 1970

Characteristics	1960			1970		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
No. 14 years and over	1,007,304	1,080,285	2,087,589	846,989	946,553	1,793,542
No. In Labor Force	814,352	456,332	1,270,684	638,871	431,623	1,070,494
Participation Rate	80.8	42.2	60.9	75.4	45.6	59.7
Civilian Force	812,525	456,332	1,268,857	637,136	431,559	1,068,745
No. Employed	781,364	437,860	1,219,224	615,673	415,566	1,031,239
No. Unemployed	31,161	18,372	49,533	21,509	15,993	37,502
Unemployment Rate	3.8	4.0	3.9	3.4	3.7	3.5
No. Not in Labor Force	192,952	623,953	816,905	208,118	514,930	723,048
Inmates of Institutions	3,907	5,295	9,202	5,993	8,005	13,998
Enrolled in School	61,777	60,343	122,120	75,014	70,718	145,732
Other: Under 65	44,337	419,506	463,843	45,069	290,444	335,513
Other: 65 and Over	82,931	138,809	221,740	82,042	145,763	227,805

Source: *General Social and Economic Characteristics,* Illinois, 1960 and 1970, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Census.

TABLE 2

1960 & 1970 PERCENTAGE OF EMPLOYED WHITES AND BLACKS BY OCCUPATIONS FOR CHICAGO

Occupation	1960			1970		
	White	Black	Difference	White	Black	Difference
White Collar	46.3	22.0	24.3	52.0	36.5	15.5
Professional	10.1	5.0	5.1	14.1	8.4	5.7
Managerial	7.0	1.8	5.2	6.1	2.6	3.5
Sales	10.5	2.0	8.5	6.8	3.3	3.5
Clerical	18.7	13.2	5.5	25.0	22.2	2.8
Blue Collar	46.1	59.8	13.7	48.0	63.5	15.5
Craftsmen	14.5	6.7	7.8	13.8	9.8	4.0
Operatives	19.7	24.9	5.2	19.3	27.2	7.9
Service	7.8	15.2	7.4	10.3	16.8	6.5
Laborers	3.7	9.0	5.3	4.3	7.5	3.2
Household	.6	4.0	3.4	.3	2.2	1.9
Not Reported	7.6	18.2	–	–	–	–
TOTAL	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	

Source: *General Social and Economic Characteristics,* Illinois, 1960 and 1970, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Census.

APPENDIX

TABLE 3

COMPUTATION OF BLACK OCCUPATIONAL GAP FOR CHICAGO, 1970

	Total Black Labor Force	Percent Of White Labor Force	Number Blacks Should Be	Number Blacks Already In Occupation	Number Blacks Required For Parity
Professionals	363,788	14.1	51,294	30,674	20,620
Managers, Officials and Proprietors	363,788	6.1	22,191	9,404	12,787
Sales	363,788	6.8	24,738	12,106	12,632
Clerical	363,788	25.0	90,947	80,628	10,319
Craftsmen	363,788	13.8	50,203	35,601	14,602

Source: *General Social & Economic Characteristics,* Illinois, 1970, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Census.

TABLE 4

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS AND JOBS

Professional and Technical – doctors, nurses, dentists, pharmacists, scientists, accountants, clergymen, lawyers, social workers, librarians, programmers, teachers, athletes, artists, architects, engineers

Managers, Officials & Proprietors – city managers, traffic managers, purchasing agents, supervisors, proprietors, officials

Clerical & Kindred – bookkeepers, secretaries, typists, stenographers, cashiers, telephone operators, shipping and receiving clerks, office machine operators, postal clerks, bank tellers

Sales – insurance, real estate, automobile, securities, wholesale, retail/drug, clothing, sundries

Service – food preparation, building maintenance, firemen, policemen, ushers, barbers/beauticians, hotel and hospital attendants, waitresses/waitors

Craftsmen, Foremen and Kindred – construction trades, repairmen, typesetters

Operatives – truck drivers, bus drivers, assemblers, inspectors, laundry and dry cleaning operatives, power machine operators, gas station attendants

Source: *Occupational Outlook Handbook,* 1972-73 Edition, USDL, BLS Bulletin #1700.

APPENDIX

TABLE 5

NUMBER OF CHICAGOANS EMPLOYED BY INDUSTRY AND RACE, 1960 & 1970*

	1960*		1970*	
Industry	**Total**	**Non-White**	**Total**	**Black**
** Manufacturing	503,753	76,531	443,829	107,748
Retail Trade	135,928	39,715	142,718	37,109
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	78,724	5,372	88,147	14,038
Public Administration	67,706	21,824	76,708	33,196
Education	49,910		77,342	21,354
Health & Hospitals	36,547		68,237	18,658
Professional Service	53,221	25,347	63,295	19,801
Wholesale Trade	57,783		63,011	11,261
Business & Repair Service	44,399	6,062	56,691	12,832
** Construction	57,025	8,035	51,348	10,787
Personal Services	52,053	30,703	49,808	20,877
** Transportation	64,642	19,609	46,084	16,081
Communication, Utilities & Sanitation	35,686		41,371	12,081
** Eating & Drinking Places	41,090		38,514	7,842
** Food & Bakery	33,938		33,053	6,462
** Trucking & Warehousing	29,661		25,509	4,289
** Household Service	19,402		8,988	5,926
** Entertainment & Recreation	9,952	1,658	8,598	1,724
Agriculture, Forestry & Fisheries	2,468	424	3,659	1,505
Mining	556	68	998	217
Not Reported	127,287	47,159	–	–
TOTALS	1,501,731	282,507	1,387,908	363,788

* 1970 data for those 16 years old and over; 1960 data for those 14 years and over.
** Industries in which fewer Chicagoans were employed in 1970 than in 1960.

Source: *General Social and Economic Characteristics,* Illinois, 1960 & 1970, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census.

APPENDIX

TABLE 6

PERCENT OF WHITES & BLACKS EMPLOYED BY INDUSTRY IN CHICAGO, 1960 & 1970*

Industry	Whites 1960 %	Non-Whites 1960 %	Whites 1970 %	Blacks 1970 %
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	6.0	1.9	7.2	3.9
Transportation	9.1	6.9	7.8	8.9
Trucking & Warehousing			(2.1)**	(1.2)
Communications, Utilities & Sanitation			(2.9)	(3.3)
Trade	18.8	14.1	21.0	17.3
Wholesale Trade			(5.1)	(3.1)
Retail Trade			(10.3)	(10.2)
Food & Bakeries			(2.6)	(1.8)
Eating & Drinking Places			(3.0)	(2.2)
Construction	4.0	2.8	4.0	3.0
Mining	.0	.0	.1	.1
Manufacturing	35.0	27.1	32.8	29.6
Business & Repair Services	3.1	2.1	4.3	3.5
Professional & Related Services	9.4	9.0	14.6	16.4
Health & Hospitals			(4.8)	(5.1)
Education & Kindred			(5.5)	(5.9)
Agriculture, Forestry & Fisheries	.2	.2	.2	.4
Personal Services	3.3	10.9	3.1	7.3
Private Household			(.3)	(1.6)
Entertainment & Recreation	.7	.6	.7	.5
Public Administration	3.8	7.7	4.2	9.1
Industry Not Reported	6.6	16.7	–	–
TOTALS	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* The 1960 census data combined many more industries than 1970 and allowed for an unreported category.

** Parentheses indicate sub-divisions of industries which have been combined for purposes of comparability for 1960 and 1970 data

Source: *General Social and Economic Characteristics,* Illinois, 1960 and 1970, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census.

TABLE 7

MEDIAN EARNINGS OF ALL MALES BY RACE FOR SELECTED INDUSTRIES CHICAGO SMSA, 1960 & 1970

	Construction	Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	Manufacturing	Public Administration
1960				
Median Earnings All Males	$ 6,332	$6,204	$5,777	$5,535
Median Earnings Non-White Males	$ 4,147	$4,091	$4,361	$4,850
Non-White Male Median Earnings Gap	$ 2,185	$2,113	$1,416	$ 685
1970				
Median Earnings All Males	$10,883	$9,839	$9,079	$9,511
Median Earnings Black Males	$ 7,470	$6,800	$6,944	$8,171
Black Male Median Earnings Gap	$ 3,413	$3,039	$2,135	$1,340

Source: *Detailed Characteristics,* Illinois, 1960 and 1970, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census.